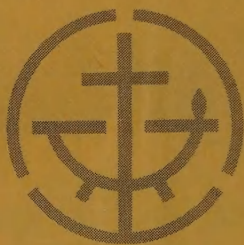


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AN ESSAY ON THE  
THEOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE

WITH THE GREEK TEXT.

FORMING AN APPENDIX TO

**Two Lectures**

ON THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

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THE THEOLOGY  
OF THE TEACHING  
WITH THE GREEK TEXT

THE Greek text and an essay on the theology of the *Teaching* (reprinted from the *Guardian* of the 21st September, 1887) are now issued as an Appendix to the writer's *Two Lectures* on the manual. The text follows, almost without deviation, the transcript from the facsimile in the Johns Hopkins edition. The essay identifies the theology of the *Teaching* as nearly as may be with that of Justin Martyr. The passage from Irenaeus on p. 158 supplies an illustration of a kind that was lacking of the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, the sign of "a cross spread out in heaven." Add to this that "the sign" alone stood for the cross, as in the form of citation from the Gospel in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 12, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ σημεῖον βαστάσητε. On the reading ὡς ἀννά in chap. x. see Clem. *Paed.* I. 5, with Potter's note. The relation of the *Teaching* to the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the works of Justin Martyr is further discussed in recent volumes of the *Expositor*; and vol. II. p. 284 of the *Classical Review* may be referred to for an analysis of the most obvious parallel, namely on almsgiving, in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, confirming what was said upon it in *Lect.* I. (p. 17) and pointing distinctly to the conclusion that the *Shepherd* is not one of the sources of the *Teaching*.

28th February, 1889.



## THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων.

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· Chap. I.

ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ· μία τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον· τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι· καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει· τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν· καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν· νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς· οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς· καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν· ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· ἐὰν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔση τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἐν ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι· παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει·

πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων χαρισμάτων· μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην· ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε· καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκείθεν· μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου

Chap. II. εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς. δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· οὐ πορνεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ μαγεύσεις· οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ· οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον· οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐ κακολογήσεις· οὐ μνησικακήσεις· οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων· οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής· οὐ κενός· ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει· οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης· οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ· οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής· οὐδὲ κακοήθης· οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος· οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις· περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ· οὓς δὲ

Chap. III. ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. τέκνον μου φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ· μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μὴδὲ ζηλωτής· μὴδὲ ἐριστικός· μὴδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται· τέκνον μου· μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μὴδὲ αἰσχρολόγος· μὴδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεύει

γεννῶνται· τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν· μηδὲ ἐπαοιδός· μηδὲ μαθηματικός· μηδὲ περικαθαίρων· μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται· τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος· μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται· τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης· μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται· ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν· γίνου μακρόθυμος· καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος· καὶ ἡσύχιος· καὶ ἀγαθός· καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός· οὓς ἤκουσας· οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν· οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος· οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ· τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ· εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται· τέκνον μου τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν· ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων· ἵνα ἐπαναπαῇς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα· εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως· οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν· οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ· μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας· πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι· οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης· οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεό-

μενον· συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς· οὐκ ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσι ἐν πικρίᾳ σου· μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν· ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου· φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες· μήτε προστιθείς· μήτε ἀφαιρῶν· ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου· καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχῇ σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ·

Chap. V. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς. ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι· μοιχεῖαι· ἐπιθυμίαι· πορνεῖαι· κλοπαί· εἰδωλολατρίαι· μαγεῖαι· φαρμακίαι· ἄρπαγαί· ψευδομαρτυρίαι· ὑποκρίσεις· διπλοκαρδία· δόλος· ὑπερηφανία· κακία· αὐθάδεια· πλεονεξία· αἰσχρολογία· ζηλοτυπία· θρασύτης· ὕψος· ἀλαζονεία· διώκεται ἀγαθῶν· μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν· ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος· οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης· οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ· οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πρᾶϊτης καὶ ὑπομονή· μάταια ἀγαπῶντες· διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα· οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν· οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ· οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς·



φονεῖς τέκνων· φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ· ἀποστρεφόμενοι  
τὸν ἐνδεόμενον· καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον· πλουσίων  
παράκλητοι· πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί· πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυ-  
σθείητε τέκνα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων. ὅρα μή τις σε Chap. VI.

πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς· ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς  
θεοῦ σε διδάσκει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν  
ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ὁ δύνῃ  
τοῦτο ποιεῖ· περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως· ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον·  
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστιν  
θεῶν νεκρῶν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὕτω βαπτίσατε· Chap. VII.

ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ  
πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι  
ζῶντι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν· εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον·  
εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ· ἐν θερμῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ  
ἔχῃς· ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς  
καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος  
προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος· καὶ εἴ-  
τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύεις\* δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτι- ? κελεύεις  
ζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο. αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν· μὴ ἔστωσαν Chap.  
μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων VIII.  
καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν·  
μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ  
κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως προσεύχεσθε· πάτερ  
ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ  
βασίλειά σου· γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου· ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ  
ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·  
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν· ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς  
ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·

ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσ-

Chap. IX. εὐχέσθε. περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου· ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν· οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος· μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Chap. X. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἅγιε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως· καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας· ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· σὺ δέσποτα παντόκρατορ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν· ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου· πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς

Cod. σὺ εἰ· σοῦ\* ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ·

καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου· καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων· τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἐλθέτω χάρις· καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος· ὡς ἀνὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυΐδ· εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι μετανοείτω· μαρναθά ἀμήν· τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. ὁς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα Chap. XI. τὰ προειρημένα δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι· μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γινῶσιν κυρίου· δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· οὕτως ποιήσατε· πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος· (οὐ) μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾗ χρεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μένῃ ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω· εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αὐτῇ ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί· καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ πειράσετε· οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται· αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται· οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου· ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης· καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινὸς ποιῶν εἰς

μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας· μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ· οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται· ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι δὸς μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων

Chap. XII. ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτόν· γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν· εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· ἐὰν ἢ ἀνάγκη· εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι τεχνίτης ὧν ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην· κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε· πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός· εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν χριστέμπορός ἐστιν· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

Chap.  
XIII.

πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἄξιός ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ· ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ· πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος· βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβῶν· δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς· ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβῶν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν· ὥς ἂν σοι δόξῃ δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

Chap.  
XIV.

ἐντολήν. κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε  
read προσεξ. ἄρτον· καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε \*προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ



παραπτώματα ὑμῶν· ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ἡμῶν\* ἦ· πᾶς edd. ὑμῶν  
 δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ, μὴ  
 συνελθέτω ὑμῖν ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν· ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ  
 θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου· ἐν  
 παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάραν·  
 ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμὶ λέγει κύριος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου  
 θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς Chap. XV.  
 ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου ἄνδρας πραεῖς  
 καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν  
 γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν  
 καὶ διδασκάλων· μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν  
 οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν· μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων·  
 ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους· μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ· ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὡς  
 ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ  
 ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω· μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω ἕως οὗ  
 μετανοήσῃ· τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ  
 πάσας τὰς πράξεις· οὕτως ποιήσατε ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ  
 εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς  
 ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν· καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες  
 ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν· ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί· οὐ γὰρ  
 οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται· πυκνῶς δὲ  
 συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐὰν  
 μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις  
 ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς·  
 καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους· καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη·  
 στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας,  
 μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι·

καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ· καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα· καὶ τέρατα· καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ· καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος· τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας· καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολύνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος· καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον· σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ· εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος· καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

## THE THEOLOGY OF THE TEACHING.

### 1. *The Old Testament according to the Teaching.*

ON the discovery of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* by Bryennius, there was a tendency, at first, to regard it as complete in itself, so that any doctrine not lying upon its surface might be pronounced to be no doctrine of the *Teaching*. Some, accordingly, repudiated it as defective and heretical, while others prized it the more on account of the assumed meagreness of its theology. But statements of dogma did not lie within the scope of the manual, which is of an elementary and practical kind and necessarily imperfect; and so far is it from laying any sort of claim to completeness that it expressly refers to the Gospel for further instruction—thus, “And your prayers and your alms and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord” (chap. xv.). When, therefore, to take an extreme case, it is said with reference to the chapters on the Eucharist, “It would appear that the words which all later Christians have regarded as the very essence of the celebration, *This is My Body, This is My Blood*, were not used at all,” the answer is that no such inference is of any validity unless it can be proved that the words in

question were not contained in the "Gospel of our Lord."

Nor can it be rightly said that the *Teaching* contributes little or nothing to the history of the interpretation of the Old Testament. The key to its exegesis, and through that in a measure to its theology, is the saying in chap. XI., *πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται.* The last clause of this seems to indicate that the *Didaché* interpreted the Old Testament in an allegorical and Christian sense, like the *pseudo-Barnabas* and Justin Martyr and their successors; and there are also other passages of the manual which can only be interpreted by this method of exegesis. The saying may be rendered, "And any approved true prophet doing (what he doeth) for an earthly (*sign of a*) mystery of the Church, but not teaching to do what things he himself doeth, shall not be judged of you; for with God he hath his judgment; for even so likewise did the ancient prophets." That is to say, a Christian prophet is not to be judged of men for whatever actions of an abnormal kind he may perform (*ποιῶν, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ*), provided he performs them with symbolic reference to the Church and its affairs, for so too did the old Jewish prophets (Luke ix. 8, 19) from Moses onward (Luke xxiv. 27). These prophets did things with mystic reference to Christ and His Church, some of which could only be justified as having been done



with such reference; but when so done they might be regarded as dramatic rather than historical. They prophesied *per operationem* or διὰ ἔργων, according to an expression of St Chrysostom in his *Synopsis*.

The word μυστήριον is here a synonym for *type* or *symbol*, with which Justin Martyr interchanges it. A "mystery" in this sense is a mystery-play representing a mystery properly so called; and as being the concrete "sign of a mystery" is fitly characterised as *cosmic* or belonging to the phenomenal world, in contrast with its *spiritual* meaning. For this use of the epithet compare Greg. Nazianz., *Oratio in Novam Dominicam*, νῦν ἔαρ κοσμικόν, ἔαρ πνευματικόν, ἔαρ ψυχᾶς, ἔαρ σώμασιν, ἔαρ ὁρώμενον, ἔαρ ἀόρατον, and for the general sense of the saying on the ancient prophets see in Origen's *Homilies passim*. "Si ergo intentius ecclesiastica mysteria recorderis in his quae lex scribit futurae veritatis invenies imaginem praeformatam." So he writes in *Hom.* 13 on Leviticus. He explains away moral difficulties on this principle, as when he makes Jael represent the Church. The historical books of the Jews would not have been appointed to be read in the Church had not their carnal wars been figures of spiritual wars. In wellnigh all the acts of the "ancients" *mysteria designantur ingentia*. All things written *quasi de rebus terrenis* in the law are "shadows of good things to come." With *the fashion of this world* (κόσμου) that of the letter of Scripture *passeth away*. "Et iterum in aliis litteram legis omnemque huiusmodi scripturam *elementa mundi* (κόσμου, Gal. iv. 3) esse commemorat." See Migne, *P. G.* XII. 547 B, 972 B,

897 A, 989 A, 801 D, 552 A, 756 B. Thus he describes the outward form of the Law, its types and symbols as *cosmic* (Heb. ix. i, τό τε ἅγιον κοσμικόν) in contrast with their *spiritual* meaning, and sees everywhere in the Old Testament cosmic mysteries of Christ and the Church.

Justin Martyr also, as cited in *Lect.* 2 (p. 91), illustrates the saying on the ancient prophets and the cognate sayings of the *Didaché* from the Law, the former and the latter Prophets, and the Psalms. "Jesus Christ (he says) is our Teacher and Interpreter of the prophecies that were not understood" (*Apol.* i. 32); and he finds references to Him everywhere in the Old Testament, like Barnabas who writes that in Him and *unto* Him are all things (chap. XII.). Justin, addressing Jews on the necessity of being likened in faith to Abraham and knowing all the mysteries as a condition of inheriting the promises, writes in striking correspondence with the language of the *Teaching* that some things are said in the Old Testament to have been commanded or done with mystic reference to Christ, τὶς δὲ ἐντολὴ καὶ πρᾶξις ὁμοίως εἶρητο ἢ εἰς μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ κ.τ.λ. (*Dial.* chap. XLIV. 263 A). The same phrase (which is also one of Origen's) is found again in chaps. CXV. and CXX. of the *Dialogue with Trypho*; the reference in the last case being not to Holy Scripture but to the tradition of the sawing asunder of Isaiah, which is said to be μυστήριον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The word μυστήριον itself is used by him repeatedly in the like sense, and he sometimes replaces it by *type* or *symbol*. He finds also several references to the Church

personified in the Old Testament, and thus explains away moral difficulties in the marriages of the patriarchs. The one matter of the sin of David with the wife of Uriah is enough, he says, of itself to shew that there was a mystic meaning in the polygamy of the patriarchs, ὅτι οὐχ ὥς πορνεύοντες πολλὰς ἔσχον γυναῖκας οἱ πατριάρχαι ἀλλ' οἰκονομία τις καὶ μυστήρια πάντα δι' αὐτῶν ἀπετελεῖτο (*Dial.* chap. CXLI. 371 A). Then, referring to the polygamy practised by the Jews in his own day, he argues, much more might it be allowed in David. The marriages of Jacob were types of what was afterwards to be done by Christ. "Leah represents your people and synagogue and Rachel our Church" (364 B). Irenaeus also might be quoted to the same effect. He contends that the prophets, prophesying *per operationem*, performed typically what was afterwards to be "vere factum in Ecclesia a Christo." (*Haeres.* IV. 20. 12.)

Turning now to the *Teaching* we may say that if the Church, in the phrase *μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*, is the Church personified as the Bride of Christ (Eph. v. 32), and if the questionable acts of the Christian prophets which are to be condoned are their marriages, or their abstention from marriage, the passage last cited from Justin might be thought to illustrate not so much the latter view (of Harnack) as "the very opposite view (of Krawutzcky and others) that the *Didaché* allows the prophets to marry, and even to remarry after the example of some of the Hebrew prophets, provided only they do not teach others to imitate their example." But whether the reference is to this par-

ticular kind of mystery, or to *ecclesiastica mysteria* generally\*, the language of Justin very strikingly illustrates the *μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ* of the *Teaching*. He has nothing to say about any acts of the Christian prophets, but he condemns the Jewish rabbis for teaching others to do as the ancient prophets did, when they should have taught that things which they did were not to be taken as precedents by ordinary men :

"It is better," writes he, "that you should follow God than your foolish and blind teachers who to this day suffer you to have four or five wives each, and then, if any one casting eyes on a shapely woman should desire her, cite the doings of Jacob and the other patriarchs and say, *μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας*, it cannot be wrong in others to do as they did" (*Dial.* cxxxiv. 363 D);

whereas, as he writes over again, "Certain economies of great mysteries were enacted in every such action." Such marriages, he contends in effect, were *εἰς μυστήριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, Rachel being expressly said to represent the Church. In chap. CXL., again, he discourses in the same fashion on Jacob's further marriages with the two handmaids of his two wives.

Thus much as to the marriages of the patriarchs. But, like Origen, Justin Martyr sees mysteries and acted prophecies "*in omnibus paene veterum gestis*"; and there were other actions than those of the sort

\* For the purpose of this essay no attempt need be made to decide what sort of abnormal acts were to be condoned in the Christian prophets. I am concerned only with the reference to, and the interpretation put upon, the acts of "the old prophets," that is, the Old Testament prophets, who are called *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* in the Gospel.



above mentioned, which it seemed to him could only be justified on the assumption that they were done εἰς μυστήριον. Under this head special mention must be made of the episode of the Brazen Serpent, on which Barnabas writes (chap. XII.), "That very Moses which gave commandment, *Ye shall have neither molten nor graven thing for a god unto you*, himself maketh one that he may shew a type of Jesus." Notice that he uses the word *type* as Justin would use *mystery*. This matter of the serpent is referred to in the Gospel (John iii. 14), and is very much dwelt upon in Christian interpretations of the Old Testament, while little is made of it in the Jewish writings. Justin makes a Jew of his own time say that he had often asked his teachers to explain it, but in vain. He then asks Justin to explain it in his Christian way, ὥστε λέγε σὺ ἂν λέγεις· προσέχομεν γάρ σοι μυστήριον ἀποκαλύπτουντι δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν διδάγματα συκοφαντητά ἐστι (Dial. XCIV. 322 B). *The very teachings of the prophets might be cavilled at* but for the fact that they acted and spoke εἰς μυστήριον. This again illustrates the saying of the *Teaching*, that the Christian prophets were not to be condemned for abnormal actions performed εἰς μυστήριον, "for even so did the ancient prophets," of whom Moses was the first (Apol. I. 32). The questionable character of the act of making and setting up the serpent is brought out in a still more striking way in the same context of the *Dialogue with Trypho*: "Was it not God Who commanded by Moses not to make any image or likeness at all of the things in heaven above or on the earth beneath? and yet

HE Himself in the wilderness through Moses caused the brazen serpent to be made, and set it on a *σημείον*, through which they that had been stung by serpents were saved, and HE is not chargeable with wrongdoing, *ἀναίτιός ἐστιν ἀδικίας.*" At the end of the same chapter likewise we read, *ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἀναίτιός ἐστι*, and at the beginning of chapter CXII. Justin says to his Jewish opponents, with reference to a variety of things in the Old Testament which he had interpreted mystically, that if they took them in their bare literal sense they would thereby ascribe *πολλὴν ἀσθένειαν* to GOD. Then, coming back to the case of the brazen serpent, he writes that even Moses would have to be judged a transgressor against the law as laid down by himself. But since he acted thus abnormally, "that he might shew a type of Jesus" (Barnab.), or in the synonymous language of Justin, *εἰς μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, he was not to be "judged"; and therefore, as it is inferred in the *Teaching*, the Christian prophet was not to be judged for doing things *εἰς μυστήριον* which were not generally lawful.

It is, I think, probable from the few illustrations out of many given above that the *Teaching* interprets the Old Testament in the manner of Barnabas and Justin Martyr, seeing in it everywhere a *πράξις εἰς μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. This principle is applied incidentally in justification of unusual conduct in the Christian prophets, but it is not to be limited to acts which stand in need of any apology. Things good or indifferent were likewise done *εἰς μυστήριον*. If this is really the rule of exegesis of the manual, we

may hope to detect therein other instances of its application. Nor do we search in vain. The first of the three signs of truth, the sign of outspreading, *σημείον ἐκπετάσεως* (chap. XVI.), was first explained, I think, by a writer in the *Guardian* as the sign of the Cross. There are two passages in particular of the Old Testament in which the *spreading out* of the hands is taken by the patristic writers generally to be a prefigurement of the Cross. On the one passage (Exod. xvii. 8—13) Justin writes (*Dial.* 317 D):

“While the people, I say, were warring with Amalek, and the son of Nun, who bore the name of Jesus, was leading the battle, Moses himself was praying to God, *spreading out* (*ἐκπετάσας*) his hands on both sides, and Ur and Aaron were bearing them up all day long, lest he should be wearied and they should fall down. For if he had failed at all of this posture imitating *the cross*, as is written in the Scriptures of Moses, the people would have been vanquished.”

A little further on in the *Dialogue* (319 A) we read that the people were saved and Amalek vanquished by the type of the stretching out of the hands of Moses and the naming of the son of Nun by the name of “Jesus”; the type in both passages consisting of the spreading or stretching out of the hands of Moses crosswise, together with the fact that the leader in the battle was named Jesus. All this is found also in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. XII., in several other passages of Justin, and in later ecclesiastical writers generally. This interpretation would seem from the internal evidence of Justin’s own writings to have been no new one in his time; for he sees the cross everywhere in

nature, and while in one place he makes it characteristic of the bodily frame of man in contrast with the brute creation (*Apol.* I. 55); in another he finds it in a secondary sense in the Paschal Lamb, of which he writes that *the mystery of the lamb was a type of Christ* (*Dial.* chap. XL.), for other reasons and because it was, as it were, crucified, one spit traversing the length of its body and another going through it crosswise, to which *the hands of the lamb* were attached (259 C). The spreading out of the "hands of the lamb" is undeniably a comparatively late application of the idea that the Crucifixion was prefigured in some places of the Old Testament by lateral extension of the hands.

The second of the passages above referred to in this sense is Isaiah lxxv. 2, which is quoted as a prophecy of the Crucifixion in Justin's *Apol.* I. 35 and 38, and in several places of his *Dialogue*, as for example :

"And by Isaiah likewise it is said concerning this, by what manner of death He was to die, *I did outspread (ἐξέπρασά) my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people, to them that walk in a way not good*" (*Dial.* 324 B).

This too is found in the same chapter of Barnabas, and in many passages of later writers.

Irenaeus, quoting some early Gnostics, writes, "Rursus autem passionem Domini typum esse dicentes *extensionis* Christi superioris," &c. (*Haeres.* IV. 35. 3), of which the Greek, to judge from *lib.* I. 4, 1 and 7, 2, must have been . . . τῆς τοῦ ἄνω Χριστοῦ ἐπεκτάσεως, a word curiously like the ἐκπετάσεως of the *Didaché*.

Another of the hard sayings of the *Teaching* may be illustrated in this way, namely, *Then shall mankind*

come into the furnace of trial, and many shall be offended and perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the very curse\* (chap. XVI.). The cross was at once the ἐσχάτη κατάρα of the law (*Dial.* 249 B) and the instrument of salvation. Through it Israel was saved from Amalek, according to some passages cited above. It was also the σημεῖον on which Moses lifted up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, where to Israel the serpent was both plague and antidote. At the beginning of Genesis likewise, writes Justin (*Dial.* 327), we have it written that the serpent beguiled Eve and was *cursed*. Thus it symbolised the *curse* actively and passively on the one hand, and *salvation* on the other. In the application to Christ, Justin contends that *He was not cursed by the law* in reality, but the curse was a "seeming curse" (*Dial.* 317 D, 338 B), although, on the other hand, He was cursed and held to be cursed by the Jews, with reference to the text, "A curse of God is everyone that hangeth ἐπὶ ξύλου" (Deut. xxi. 23). And possibly he had in mind also some current Christian saying in which Christ was said to be ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα (Gal. iii. 13), or a κατάθεμα, by which those who endure (ὑπομείναντες) in their faith are saved. Contrast the ὅστις οὐκ ἐμμένει of Deut. xxvii. 26. But the point to be observed is that an interpreter of the same school with Justin Martyr could not fail to see underlying this saying of the *Teaching* a reference to the brazen serpent, and conversely we may reckon this saying among the evidences of the use of that mode of

\* Clem. Alex. in *Strom.* iv. 7 illustrates this by teaching that he who dies for the love of God dies for his own salvation.

interpretation in the *Teaching*. Further traces of the same are found in its 14th and 16th chapters, where the title Lord as it stands in the Old Testament is transferred to Christ.

2. *The Theology of the Teaching like that of Justin Martyr.*

Chap. X. *Hos-anna to the God of David.*—I pass on to the question of the theology of the *Teaching*, beginning with the doctrine of the Person of Christ, so far as it is involved in the words, "Hosanna to the God of David." Supposing them to be applied to Christ, it might be at once inferred that the writer found indications of the divinity of our Lord in the Old Testament, and hence generally that he interpreted the ancient Scriptures in the manner of Justin Martyr and εἰς μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. But having already shewn that he did so interpret them, I shall proceed conversely to use this conclusion in defence of the reading, GOD of David, meaning Christ, which Bryennius altered into Son of David; solely on hypothesis, for the actual reading of the one documentary authority is clearly GOD of David. The reading of the manuscript has been defended by Harnack sufficiently to shew that in default of better reason than has been alleged to the contrary it ought not to be tampered with. In the course of his argument he quotes from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. XII.:

"Behold, again, Jesus, not a son of man, but a Son of God, by type manifested in the flesh. Now, since they will say that Christ is David's son, David himself prophesieth,



fearing the error of sinners, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool.* And again, Esaias saith, *The Lord said unto Christ my Lord . . . . Behold, now, David calleth Him Lord, and Son of God."*

Here, as Mr G. H. Rendall remarks, there is a definite reference in "they will say," μέλλουσιν λέγειν, to some sect or school of interpretation, probably Ebionite or perhaps Jewish, aimed at in the "error of sinners." Harnack concludes that according to Barnabas the expression should be τῷ κυρίῳ Δαβίδ. If such were the reading to be defended the case would have been made out. But a connecting link is still wanting to lead up to the formula of the text; and this is supplied by Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, and in his first *Apology*.

Justin makes out that Christ is called Lord in the Old Testament, and that He is called God; and that especially by David: Christ (he says) is called king and priest and God and Lord . . . . as I shew from all the Scriptures (*Dial.* chap. XXXIV. 251 D). He pre-existed as Son of the Maker of the universe being God, and was born as man of the Virgin (267 C). Of Him it is written, Say unto the cities of Judah, *Behold your God* (270 C). He existed as God before the creation of the world, and appeared to Abraham in the form of a man with the two angels (276 C). Justin charges the Jews with striking out many passages of Scripture, which testified expressly that the same who was crucified is God as well as man (297 B). In the Book of Exodus it is announced ἐν μυστηρίῳ that the name of

God Himself is *Jesus*, it being said of Joshua, *For my Name is upon him* (chap. LXXV.). Our Christ in the form of fire addressed Moses from the bush, and His words, *I am He that is* (ὁ ὢν), the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of thy fathers, shew that they were still living and were "men of Christ Himself" (*Apol.* I. 95 B and 96 E). It was Jesus who appeared to Moses and Abraham and the other patriarchs generally, and spake with them (*Dial.* 340 D). True Christians had no communion with those who instead of worshipping (σέβειν) Jesus confessed Him in name only (*Dial.* 253 D).

But by *David* also in particular He is called *God* as well as *Lord* :

"Another beside the Maker of All is called Lord by the Holy Spirit, and that not by Moses only but by David, who says, *The Lord saith unto my Lord*, &c. . . . and again in other words, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*. . . . If then ye say that the Holy Spirit calls any other beside these God and Lord (θεολογεῖν καὶ κυριολογεῖν), answer me" (*Dial.* 277 B).

In chap. LXIII. likewise, after quoting from Isaiah liii. and Psalm cx. he again quotes, *Thy Throne, O God*, &c., and adds that the words expressly signify that the writer testifies to the person named as one who is to be worshipped, and is God, and is Christ. In *Hearken, O Daughter*, in the same Psalm, he again sees the mystery of the Church (287 B), and thus illustrates the prayers for the Church in chaps. IX. and X. of the *Didaché*. In other Psalms David calls Christ *God and Lord of hosts*, or *Mighty God and to be worshipped*

(254 D, 302 B); and (p. 450, ed. Otto) while Moses and the prophets ascribe sundry other titles to Him, David is singled out as calling Him *θεὸς προσκυνητός*. If, then, according to Justin, Christ claims to be the God of Abraham and all the patriarchs, and if He is the God of the cities of Judah, and if David in particular calls Him God, and not only so but addresses Him as God, saying, *Thy Throne, O God*, &c., there is nothing strange in the reading, *Hosanna to the God of David*, in a manual which interprets the Old Testament by the same rule as Justin Martyr.

Turning now to the famous letter of Pliny to Trajan, of A.D. 112, which is edited, with notes, in the Bishop of Durham's *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. I. 50—53 (cf. vol. II. 532), we read of the Christians, "quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem." That is to say, that at their congregations on the Lord's Day they were wont to chant to Christ "quasi Deo" (cf. Eph. v. 19, with Wordsworth's note). This versicle from the Eucharistic service according to the *Didaché*, "Hosanna to the God of David," may have been in use when Pliny wrote.

*The Holy Vine of David.*—The "Vine of David" Chap. IX. is a compendium of theology in itself. The analysis of the figure, which is manifestly composite, is suggested by Rev. v. 5: "Behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book." The identification of the Lion of Judah with the Root of David, or Jesse (Rom. xv. 12; Acts xiii. 22, 23), brings together two distant passages of the Old Testa-

ment from which the lineage of the Messiah was inferred, namely :

“Judah is a lion’s whelp . . . he stooped down, he couched as a lion. . . . The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh ( $\text{\text{ὁ ἀποκείται}}$ ) come; and unto him shall the gathering ( $\text{\text{προσδοκία}}$ ) of the people be. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass’s colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes” (Gen. xlix. 9—11);

And—

“There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. . . . And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious” (Isaiah xi. 1, 10).

It is perfectly natural that the primary reference in explanation of the figure of the vine, occurring as it does in the *Teaching* in the thanksgiving for the cup of which it is said in the Gospel, *This is My Blood*, should be to Gen. xlix. where the “blood” of the vine is spoken of. We may, therefore, say that the figure of the “Vine of David” amalgamates the figure of the vine, as in Gen. xlix. 11, with Isaiah’s figure of the root of Jesse. Justin Martyr, who seldom or never fails to supply a comment upon any dark saying of the *Didaché* which is to be explained from the Old Testament, brings the same two passages together. He first writes at some length on the passage from Genesis, and then adds that :

“Isaiah, another prophet, prophesying the same things by other expressions thus spake, ‘There shall rise a Star out of

Jacob, and a blossom shall ascend from the root of Jesse ; and on His arm nations shall hope' " (*Apol.* i. 32).

It is remarkable that the Apocalypse, with which Justin was acquainted (*Dial.* 308 A), brings together the figure of the root of David and the figure of the star (Numb. xxiv. 17), which Justin inadvertently attributes to Isaiah, thus, "I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright and morning star" (Rev. xxii. 16).

What Justin writes on the passage from Genesis is briefly as follows :

Moses, the first of the prophets, said that a ruler should not fail from Judah till He should come for whom the kingdom was reserved. Nor did such ruler fail till the coming of Jesus Christ, our Teacher and Exegete of the prophecies that were not understood. Then the Romans subjugated the Jews. That He is to be the expectation of the nations means that they will expect His Second Advent. The ass's colt refers to the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. The robe which He washes in the blood of grapes to His Passion, and to His cleansing by His blood those who believe on Him, in whom dwells the seed from God, the Λόγος, for these are represented by His "robe." The Incarnation is also predicted ; for, as not man but God made the blood of the vine, so it was signified that this blood of His was not to come of human seed but of a divine power. Now the Λόγος is the first power after God the Father, and is also Son. How He was incarnate and became man we will presently say. For as not man but God made the blood of the vine, so this blood was to come not of human seed but of the power of God.

He then quotes Isaiah as prophesying the same things in other words. Cf. Rev. i. 5 and vii. 14 ; and in the *Clementine Homilies* (VIII. 23), "If then ye wish to become the ἐνδυμα of the Divine Spirit." In the

Midrash, *his robe* is said to mean *error*, with a play upon the word **סוֹא**, *στολή*, which may be connected with a verb meaning in the hiphil *to lead astray* (Deut. xiii. 7). As a link between the Midrash, where the wine is of course the law, and the *Dialogue*, notice that in the latter Christ Himself is called *αἰώνιος νόμος*, and that, as Otto remarks (p. 43), He is called *Law* also in the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Preaching of Peter*.

This explanation of the Holy Vine of David by Gen. xlix. and Isaiah xi. jointly is corroborated by the Alexandrine tradition. Origen, in a passage cited by Bornemann—namely, from his *Sixth Homily on Judges*, writes:

“Antequam panis caelestis consequamur annonam, et carnibus Agni Immaculati satiemur, antequam verae *Vitis* quae ascendit de radice *David* sanguine inebriemur, donec parvuli sumus, et lacte alimur, et initiorum Christi sermonem tenemus,” &c.;

where the word *ascendit* corresponds to the *ἀναβήσεται* of Isaiah xi., and *sanguine* to Gen. xlix. Origen's forerunner, Clement, speaks expressly of the *Holy* vine of prophecy, which is also the *Vine of David*, and signifies the *Λόγος*, in the following passages. *Paedag.* II. 2 (Migne, VIII. 409, 424), “Then the *Holy* vine yielded the prophetic cluster, which is the *Λόγος* that is pressed for us. . . . The Scripture names wine as a mystic symbol of Holy Blood.” *Quis div. salv.*, sec. 29 (IX. 636), “This was He that poured out the wine, the Blood of the *Vine of David*, into our wounded souls” (Luke x. 34). *Paedag.* I. 5 (VIII. 268):



"*Binding his foal to the vine* (Gen. xlix.), binding this simple and infant people to the Λόγος, which is called allegorically a vine, for the vine bears wine as the Λόγος blood, and both of them drink unto salvation for men, the wine for the body and the blood for the spirit."

While it is admitted that from this passage of Clement alone it would not be safe to deduce that a *Logoslehre* formed part of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, such inference seems less precarious when the like is found in another line of tradition also, and in so early a writer as Justin Martyr, who according to one theory is not far from contemporary with the redactor of the *Teaching*; and when it is considered that his interpretation may have been based on a Jewish allegory of the vine outwardly resembling it, and differing from it only as the "word" differs from the WORD. But whatever may be thought of this interpretation, and whatever may be the true significance of the "Vine of David," it clearly points to the Old Testament, and implies that a vine spoken of somewhere therein was to be deemed to be in some sense a *μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* or *τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*.

The theology of the *Didaché* is the theology which underlies it. It does not so much as say, "Thou knowest that there is one God." Even this, from the manual itself, can only be inferred, but of course without any difficulty. As an example of a less direct but not less safe inference, take the fact of the Crucifixion, which is certainly or probably referred to more or less indirectly, and so as to imply a doctrine of the Atonement, in several places. When it is said, "Let not your fasts be

with the hypocrites—viz., on Tuesday and Thursday, but on Wednesday and Friday,” there was a reason for the precept too obvious to need to be written down. Not only was the day of the Crucifixion to be observed, but its observance marked the distinction between the “hypocrites” and the faithful, who looked for salvation through the death of Christ. In the figure of the “Vine” again, as expounded by Justin Martyr, there is a reference to the Blood of Christ crucified. The Eucharistic *κλάσμα* is a symbol of the broken Body of Christ. In the saying, *Even so likewise did the ancient prophets*, there is a strong probability that one of the matters referred to is the lifting up of the brazen serpent, which was deemed to prefigure the “saving mystery” of the Passion of Christ. In the saying, *They shall be saved by the very curse*, this would be again referred to. And lastly, to go no further, the sign of outspreading must be the sign of the Cross. It is thus inferentially only that we can determine with any approach to completeness and with more or less of probability what doctrines underlie the *Didaché*. Granted that it interprets the Old Testament by the same rule as Justin, its theology might be expected to agree more or less with his so far as it is deducible by that rule from the Old Testament. Those who make the *Didaché* coæval with Justin will be the less unprepared to find their theologies identical; nor need they differ materially if the earliest possible date be assigned to the manual.

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